the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1,310 people in 1916, was 2,280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

	1911	1938	
Tamanrasset	150	686	
Abalessa	272	250	
I-n-Amgel	180	206	
Iglen		168	
Ideles	70	160	
Tazerouk	150	148	
Tit	75	98	had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938.
Tarhaouhaout	140	91	
Amsel	90	66	
Tahifet		39	
Tigeneouin	25	23	
Mertoutek		60	
Hirhafok		80	
Ilaman	10		

162
103

	1911	1938
T-i-n-Ămenser	36	temporarily abandoned
Tifert	50	" "
Essélésékin	30	
T-i-n-Târâbin	15	abandoned

166
621
[648] These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[541]
312] Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

262
439
433 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621
433 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Attoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [16] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from 166 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

†Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

‡A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

Chapter V

The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution. 728

565 [563] /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the [567] Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

/90 cont./ The thickness of the walls varies from one to three toubs, or from 30 to 90 centimeters. The grave problem is that of the roof, which is made in the local style with a coat of tin over a bed of tahlis or reeds; the framework is made from fersig and éthel branches, with an average length of from two to 2.50 meters. In order to obtain a big enough room, the ends of these branches must be rested on a large log or on a semicircular arch made with toub. It is not possible, therefore, to make rooms more than four meters wide because of the length limitations of the logs or of the vault's span; the room may be made as long as desired by stringing together the units from two to 2.50 meters wide.

Some administration houses have iron beams, which permits the construction of wider rooms and avoids a grave annoyance, that of finding that a beam has been attacked by termites. In order to discourage termites, the frame is covered with drainage oil.

/91/ The inside plastering consists of black tin covered with a layer of white tin or, preferably, with lime, which sticks better. The outside plaster is red tin smoothed with the trowel or grooved vertically by the mason's fingers, which gives a pleasing effect. This red color gives Tamanrasset its particular look. Very often a small flowering garden brightens a house. The houses of Europeans have several rooms, a kitchen, a court, and often a small vegetable garden; they are in general smartly kept up.

Migrations

361
166

The Tuareg only change their camps to find other pastures for the herds; when food for the animals becomes scarce within a radius of two to three hours' from camp, the head of the tent or subgroup, in agreement with the other members of the family, chooses a new site with good pasturage and, if possible, relatively near a water point. The imrad tribes make these

361 /91 cont./ changes only within the bounds of their territory. In order to use pastures on the lands of a neighboring tribe, ●166 permission must be obtained from that tribe's amrar, and in addition a fee must be paid, which may be as much as two or three goats. Only the nobles move at will in the whole country.

We have already seen that the female camels are sent to Tamesna in a dry year, and that they stay there until a rainy year gives the Ahaggar desirable pastures. There then remain in the Ahaggar only a few male camels and all the goats, which accentuates the region's desert character. In these dry years the men go back and forth between the Ahaggar and the camel herds, sometimes taking Negroes with them, sometimes young adolescents. The women stay in the camps. A change of tent site is carefully planned, because of the scarcity of water points. /92/ It is not unusual to see a camp remain nearly a year at a site which is not too unfavorable.

During wet years, there are abundant pastures practically everywhere in the Ahaggar, water flows in the wadis, the female camels produce a lot of milk; one would think that the Tuareg then would sojourn long in the same place -- but no, quite the contrary, the camps are constantly moving.

Tuareg custom holds that when the pastures are just beginning to grow, the camp must not remain too long in the same place; this is a wise measure which permits plants to flower and bear seed, but putting that reason aside, there is no rational explanation of that continual shifting of tents in a country covered with the best pastures. Is there here a manifestation of the nomadic spirit? A careful psychological study would have to be made in order to understand the reasons behind these moves, which have no apparent practical purpose and which the Tuareg themselves are unable to justify.

Yet moving a camp is no joke. Dismantling the tents is easily and rapidly enough done by the women, but looking for the donkeys, the loading, the packing of the objects constitutes a job which to a European seems enough to drive one crazy; thought must also be given to milking the animals,

361 /92 cont./ to the departure of the herds, to the means of
166 moving the old people and babies. The camp is hardly ready to move before nine in the morning, although the work has been in progress since sunrise. About three in the afternoon the caravan halts for the night; the animals must then be unloaded, the asabers must be put up, the meals prepared, the animals milked; and the next day everything begins over again.

166 There is one regular annual migration; when the wheat
221 and barley ripen in the gardens, it is April, and all the caravans
361 returned from the Sudan have stored their millet in silos -- then nearly all camps head for the agricultural centers. The goats are left in the desert in the care of the Negroes. Each little agricultural center /93/ then sees a gathering of the Tuareg, who come to supervise the harvest and live at the expense of the khammès, according to the provisions of the agricultural contract. This is a joyous period, and tendi and ilougan are held every day.

In connection with these migrations, it must be noted that the Tuareg do not act exactly according to the necessities of the climate: a dry period should logically lead to an exodus by the tribes toward Sudanese territory, where the herds would be better fed in virtually permanent pastures, and yet the tents and goats stay in the Ahaggar. Political reasons do not suffice to explain this contradiction between custom and the obligations of the climate. Perhaps this custom may be seen as the effect of long habit reinforced by sentimental factors. It is certain that away from the Ahaggar and their own territories of nomadization, the Tuareg are ill at ease; they show their delight on returning to their mountains. There is a saying that the Tuareg are great travelers but not great nomads; the essential reason for this remark is certainly the profound attachment they manifest for their soil, which seems incompatible with the nomad mentality.

261 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
●166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Weaning takes place gradually. Long before the end of the suckling period the kids eat green annual plants around the camp or, if such plants are not available, fresh shoots of acacias and tender herbs brought to the camp by Tuareg women. At the end of the suckling period kids, if very abundant, will sometimes be taken to grazing grounds away from the camp, and the flock of kids will then be forced to live exclusively on plant food. But there are also certain devices to wean kids which graze together with the mother animals. Such devices are normally applied to kids when they are about two months old – at which age the Ahaggar Tuareg claim that kids should also be marked and castrated. These devices to wean kids will now be briefly mentioned.

In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer kids are generally weaned by means of a small stick placed in the mouth. This stick can be fixed in two ways. It is frequently placed transversally in the kid's mouth and attached at both ends with a thin piece of cord or leather fastened behind the animal's horns (Figs. 18–19). But it may also be placed in the mouth of the kid in a very simple and apparently rather crude way, namely by piercing right through the cheek of the animal (cf. Fig. 20). Both methods are known to the Northern Tuareg as *asedres*, or *akara*, and the latter method of piercing the stick right through the cheek is claimed to be the better, as in this case the stick does not easily fall out. Both devices are practised by other North African stock-breeders.

According to Foucauld the term *akara* is used among the Ayr Tuareg to denote these practises (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 848), which allow the kids to graze without any difficulty but effectively prevent them from suckling. But according to my investigations among the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr, the methods are unknown in their above mentioned forms. Devices to wean kids among these Tuareg are known as *asedres*, or *ameru*, and the most common one consists of a piece of dum palm leaf rolled together and drawn through two holes pierced in the upper lip of the kid, a knot being tied at each end of the piece of palm leaf. Another device consists of a cord of dum palm leaf placed in the kid's mouth and fastened behind its horns, but this method is used mainly temporarily (e.g., during movements of the camp to a new place) when small kids mix with the milk-yielding goats. It is possible that devices as those just described from the Northern Tuareg are also found among certain Ayr Tuareg, for many now living in and around Ayr have immigrated fairly recently from the north. A peculiar method should finally be mentioned. It is described from Ahaggar by Lhote, who states that the Tuareg of that region attach the spiky skin of a hedgehog to the head of kids so that they prick the udder of the mother animals when sucking with the result that the mother animals kick them away (Lhote 1951a, p. 136). The use of spiked devices to wean kids and lambs is certainly not a common method among the Tuareg or among other stock-breeders, though spiked devices are commonly applied to the young of certain other domestic animals (cf. p. 52, 62 f.).

Effective goat-breeding is more than anything else a question of an appropriate birth control of the goats. Although goats, if not mated again soon, may yield milk up to two years after the birth of kids, they give much more milk when they have kids. The period of gestation is about five months, and the same goat may be capable of bringing forth kids twice a year.

There are some Tuareg who always let their goats mate freely, but this is not common practice. With free mating the flock will increase enormously, as most goats bring forth two kids, and the same goat may thus have four kids in a year. But there will then be little milk for the nomads, as milk-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

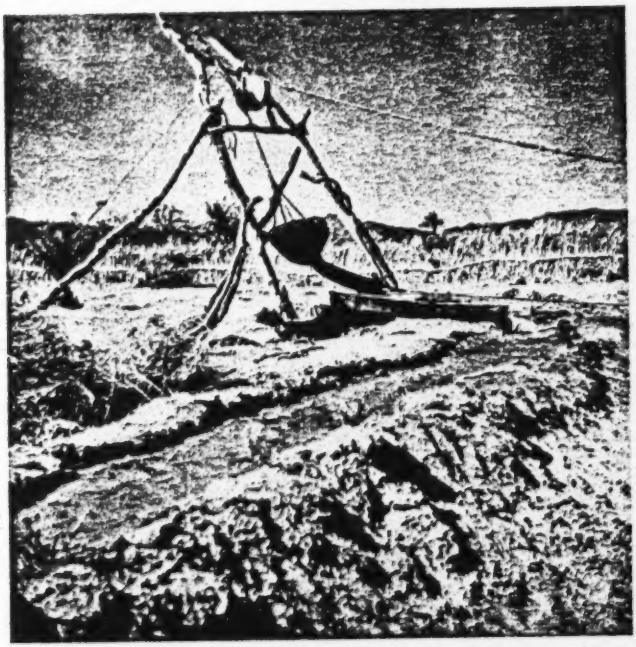


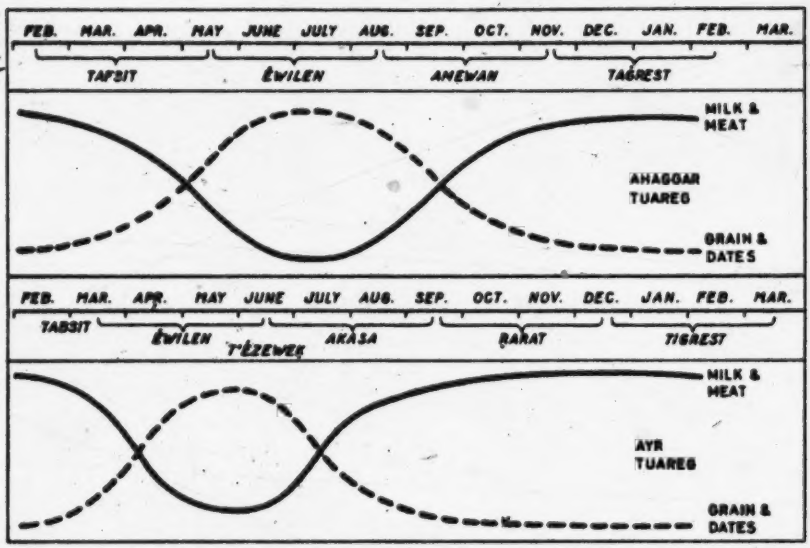
Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *segui*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a; p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases, and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agriculturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan* (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

433
262
805



[511]
[824]

Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433
439

it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233
166
[184]
433
262

We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 [168] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aǧeǧu* (pl. *iǧeǧan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *izgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiǧettewin* (sing. *téǧettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

[184] B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaǧwaǧ* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,